

Volume IV, Numbers 9 and 10 / 60 cents

FOCUS MIDWEST

66

Out Of Focus

POEMS BY

David Etter
Edwin Honig
Marvin Bell

**Community Planner
Proposes Revolutionary
Step**



Communications
for the Status Quo



**Illinois Education/
The System
Must Go**

A critique:
**The 1966
Chicago
Bond Issue**

Leon M. Despres

Why Is Frank Smith Lost And Who Is Frank Smith



Three
Chicago
Artists



OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

The second annual convocation of the Lincoln Academy of Illinois was celebrated at the Chicago Historical Society, and Gov. Otto Kerner conferred on distinguished citizens such as Joseph Block, Dr. Rudolph Ganz, William A. Patterson, Bill Mauldin, the late Albert Cardinal Meyer, and the late Adlai Stevenson the Academy's Order of Lincoln. Participants in the ceremony started the evening with a dinner at the Racquet Club followed by the presentation at the Chicago Historical Society and topped off the evening with a gala dance and supper at the Casino Club. Curiously, neither the Casino Club nor the Racquet Club objected to the Lincoln celebration — although neither admits Negroes for membership nor for that matter Jews.

The Missouri highway department reports that it found 57,688 signs and 849 junkyards along the 9,300 miles of federal aid highways. A car moving along at 60 to 70 miles per hour, has the opportunity to see a junkyard every six to seven minutes and a sign every nine seconds.

The St. Louis State School and Hospital which houses 830 mentally retarded patients has no psychologist on its staff. The Marshall-Carrollton-Higginsville institution with 1700 patients has only one psychologist.

"The Truth About Communism" featuring Ronald Reagan is one of the films which the St. Louis Globe-Democrat offers free of charge for showing to civic and fraternal organizations.

Atlanta police have recently arrested some fifty women, allegedly prostitutes or former prostitutes, for simply appearing in public. The arrests were made under a 1910 ordinance which makes it a misdemeanor for a woman of notorious character to walk or ride upon the public thoroughfares of Atlanta.

The National Catholic Office for Motion Pictures (formerly called the National Legion of Decency) condemned the film "Pawnbroker" for its use of nudity. (The Production Code Administration, the motion picture industry's review board, on the other hand, made an exception to their no-nudity policy because of the Nazi concentration camp scenes depicted, which made the baring scenes necessary to the dramatic action.)

Guillow now manufactures a flying model kit of the German Messerschmidt airplane complete with the Nazi swastika. The young model builder also gets a free history lesson lauding the significance of the plane: "Tempered in the Spanish Civil War, the Messerschmidt BF09 was ready and waiting when the German invasion of Poland started World War II. . . ."

A group of scientists of the UN food and agriculture organization report that 200 species of pests have developed enough resistance to survive deadly chemical compounds in the last 20 years.

The *Wisconsin Democrat*, magazine of the regular Democratic party, published the complete platform of the Wisconsin Young Democrats except for a "sex plank" which called for an end to laws against homosexuality and against unnatural relations between members of the opposite sex. A Democratic spokesman said "that wasn't one of the most significant resolutions anyway."

After the Jefferson County (Mo.) grand jury had criticized members of the Building Code Commission for representing special interests in writing a building code, Associated County Judge Martin E. Burgess announced that four members, all labor union executives, would be replaced. He revealed that the new commission will represent builders and businessman.

Retired Supreme Court Justice Charles A. Whittaker told a University of Kansas audience that peaceful demonstrations lead to a breakdown of law and order. He blamed the philosophy of "obeying only the laws you like" for mob action. (Other distinguished scholars at the seminar took sharp issue with the fortunately retired justice.) He had nothing to say about demonstrations which are held in support of law although they may upset the social order.

FOCUS/Midwest, Volume 4, Number 9 and 10. Second class postage paid at St. Louis, Mo. Published bi-monthly by FOCUS/Midwest Publishing Co., Inc. Subscription rates: \$6 11 issues (one year); \$11 22 issues (two years); \$15 33 issues (three years); \$23 five years, \$100 lifetime. Foreign \$1.50 per year extra. Allow one month for address changes. Advertising rates upon request. Enclose stamped, self-addressed envelope with manuscript. **September - October**, Copyright © 1966 by FOCUS/Midwest Publishing Company, Inc. Please mail subscriptions and manuscripts to P.O.B. 3086, St. Louis, Mo. 63130; other correspondence to 884 Berick Dr., St. Louis, Mo. 63132.

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Letters

The Dirty Business of School Magazines

F/M: The following is in response to Herbert Schiller's article (Vol. IV, Nos. 7-8). As a former school teacher, I can tell you that moving to Zerox ownership can only improve "My Weekly Reader" magazine. It has been an insipid, little sheet offering easy-to-read, superficial sketches of non-controversial subjects. Its issue for the week of October 24 typically contains nothing about the United Nations. It is devoted exclusively to *Halloween!*

G. C. J.
St. Louis

F/M: I was prompted to write you and tell you how much I enjoyed the article on "The Dirty Business of School Magazines."

Glen Kleine
St. Louis

(NOTE: See page 22 for a reply by Scholastic Magazines and a rebuttal by the author, Prof. Herbert I. Schiller.)

On Campus Speakers

F/M: I want you to know how much I enjoyed the last issue (Vol. IV, No. 7-8) of FOCUS/Midwest. I think your reports from the campus (Missouri U., Northwestern) help give the magazine an enlightened up-to-date point of view.

Charles K. Boeschstein
St. Louis

F/M: I read with much interest the current issue of your magazine (Volume IV, Nos. 7-8) and find much in it to stimulate my thinking and arouse my emotions.

Perhaps, I am in the same situation that a lot of others are in. Namely, how to determine the relative control that must be exercised with respect to those who speak on college campuses. The two articles describ-

ing the visit of George Rockwell to Northwestern and Lightfoot to Missouri U. certainly help to focus on the issue from one standpoint: the ability of students to cope with ideas that are quite different from their own.

Perhaps it was the way in which the two articles were written that disturbs me a little. Regarding Mr. Rockwell, I have the strange feeling that it was an act of evil to just have him there in the first place. To even give an audience to such a man seems to be an act of irresponsibility on the part of the faculty. I know that we destroy ideas with better ideas, but it seemed to be a situation wherein his very presence gave a measure of support. With regard to Mr. Lightfoot's experience on the campus at Missouri U. I can understand the situation a little better. I have been in groups where a man who was connected with the Communist party was invited to speak. Rather than confront him with ideas, he was attacked as was Mr. Lightfoot.

This is a difficult but necessary business of trying to work out our relationships. Thank you for your fresh and creative approach to the issues of this day.

Harsh Brown
St. Louis

F/M: Your latest issue of FOCUS/Midwest was excellent.

Richard E. Risk
Assistant Director
Missouri Commission on
Human Rights

A Reapportionment Proposal

F/M: If, as Walter S. G. Kohn wrote in "A Proposal to Solve the Reapportionment Hassle," the bicameral system is part of our revered check and balance system, then we'd better have two governors so one can veto the other. Adequate checks and balances are provided by and between the three main branches of government — legislative, executive and

judicial — not within each. If he's right, then we should also have two judicial systems which extremists were advocating a couple of years ago. (One justice from each state's highest court — a 50-member "tribunal" which could overrule the decisions of the Supreme Court.)

Time was when our big cities had two legislative houses. How many states have either populations or problems comparable to those of Chicago or Los Angeles?

The compelling need today is for governments geared for action, not inaction.

Alfred Willoughby
Executive Director
National Municipal League

Teaching in Chicago

F/M: When I first started teaching English at Chicago's Central YMCA High School last fall, I had no idea what I was getting into.

I had been told that the kids were problems, that Central was one institution in the area dedicated to handling dropouts and delinquents of every sort. However, irrespective of the warnings and over a year of conditioning in Chicago slum schools, I was totally unprepared for this.

Of course, many of the Central students are like any other students without great handicaps. There are approximately 800 students in the high school. Their ages run from 15 to middle-age, with abilities and backgrounds that range even further.

But a good number of our students have deep-seated problems. You name it, and we probably have it — criminals, dope addicts, schizophrenics, paranoiacs, the spoiled and the neglected, the intelligent with the slow, the belligerent and the beaten.

If they have things in common, they share general hostilities toward both themselves and the society that formed them. They are antagonistic to institutional authority, often manifested in their attitudes and reactions at Central.

They are different from what I experienced in Chicago slum schools. For the most part, they are passive rather than active, polite rather than disruptive.

Then what was I faced with? Death! My students just sat, doing very little if anything at all. Sometimes they didn't even come to class. I shall always remember one of my first experiences, an English literature

class. The students let me know immediately that the last thing they had any intention of doing was learning anything so dull as English lit. And, as hard as I tried, there was nothing I could do to motivate them. I am sure if a knowledge of Chaucer would have spared their lives, they would sooner have perished.

Well, after several weeks of frustration, I realized that the adjustment would have to be made by me, for certainly it was not going to be made by them. I, for the most part, discarded the text — which I regard as the best I have seen in its field — and started teaching whatever my students would be willing to grasp within the broad context of literature.

I learned, as a result, that the students' willingness to grasp something is the best index I have for knowing what they need, and consequently what I should teach them. And if that means forsaking some of the traditionally taught concepts that are regarded in the field as so tried and true and dear, that is exactly what I do.

There is little question in my mind today, several months after this personal revelation, that most of our students wouldn't even be at Central if their previous schools had adopted a similar attitude. Taken a step further, I am convinced that the students should be allowed to exhibit their needs in all cases before we educators charge blindly forward to satisfy them. I am positive that this approach would upgrade education on every level.

Of course, I am voicing the child-centered route to education, but while most educators today agree to the soundness of this approach, few actually practice it. Most practical educators will tell you that the child comes first, but then they immediately turn around and insist that certain aspects of subject matter are sacrosanct and must be taught *first* in order to lay the groundwork for further learning. In theory they are child-centered. But in practice they are oriented to subject-matter-first.

It is amusing that the subject-first enthusiasts insist that they are defending the intellectual tradition. They are not. By attempting to instill a concept or a skill before a need is established in the learner, the subject-first exponents are treating the learner more like an IBM machine into which facts are fed, than a human organism whose basic need is to grow. Indeed there can be no growth before the need is estab-

lished, despite all the raw knowledge sledge-hammered into a learner's mind.

I am more than a little bit incensed about this, for I have developed an affection and a respect for the students at Central, and I see how some of them have acquired monkeys on their backs that they may never toss off — and often for no other reason than that the system, that so many of them reasonably abhor, has chosen to place Chaucer ahead of them on the educational ladder.

In all due respect to Mr. Chaucer I think we must keep in mind that we are teaching children, not Chaucer. All that can be done for Mr. Chaucer has been done, but we have plenty left to do for these kids. Chaucer in the school must be regarded as only a *means* to reach the learner, to help him develop and grow, and if the means doesn't work, then it is time we tried something else.

The question must not be "How is the best way to get our students to understand *Canterbury Tales*?" but

"Is it in the best interest of our student in all cases to read *Canterbury Tales* at all?"

I am convinced that the needs of students in some situations could be much better satisfied through a study of Mark Harris' *The Southpaw* than *Hamlet*, and in other cases by the history of acting rather than the Industrial Revolution.

From Socrates to Spinoza, from Dewey to Whitehead and Sartre, the intellectual tradition has guided man to seek after himself, to prod into his own soul to discover what is there, and the starting point has never been the classic, or the machine, or the laboratory — but man himself.

The teacher must always ask whether he is trying to help the student to understand himself or merely trying to disseminate information. If the latter is the teacher's aim, he might just as well forsake all classroom activity and, as Walter Kauffman points out in *The Faith of a Heretic*, pass out a mimeographed sheet.

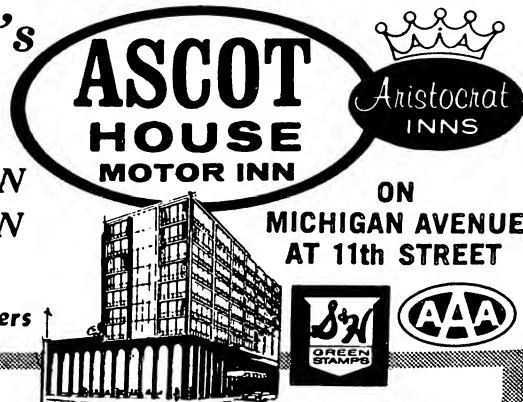
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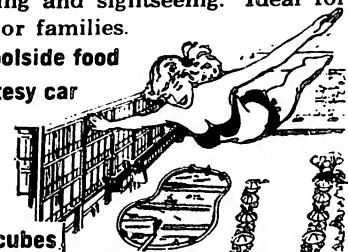
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Right to Part Company

MISSOURIANS of whatever political ideology should carefully review the history of the National Right to Work Committee, before joining its efforts to outlaw "compulsory union membership." While decent men may differ on the merits of an open or closed union shop and remain friends, it becomes difficult if one of them belongs to the Committee. The recently announced formation of the Missourians for Voluntary Unionism, the Missouri arm of the Committee, made us look up our "Roster of the Right Wing" (Vol. 3, No. 6/7). We would like to share some excerpts of our report.

The National Right to Work Committee was formed in 1955 by a few men led by E. S. Dillard, an endorser of both the John Birch Society and the Manion Forum, and Fred R. Hartley, co-sponsor of the Taft-Hartley law. Through the years many other rightists were involved, too numerous for separate listings, who identify organized labor with socialism and communism. An example is Birchite Glenn A. Green, who became director of information for the Committee in 1961. (We do not know whether he is still with the Committee.) He came from the National Education Program and was producer of the notorious film "Communism on the Map." Publications of the Committee have attacked the Wagner Act and the Minimum Wage Act. A subsidiary group, National Council for Labor's Rank and File, which was set up in 1960 to enlist employees, publishes "Straight Talk." This paper featured on the front page an item "Communist Party Praises UAW Resolutions," which implied a connection with civil liberties resolutions and "the world-wide Communist apparatus."

Nothing has changed to make us reappraise our evaluation. Possibly, the new Missouri members have been ignorant of the Committee's past. If so, here is their chance to part company.

HUAC on the Carpet

THE interplay of American political forces directs public policy into a gradualist approach. Instruments, such as the House Un-American Activities Committee with an undefinable and plyable purpose, are harmful to the free consideration of all alternatives before reaching a policy stand. No doubt, some of the present HUAC members would delight in subpoenaing some of the recent witnesses before the Fulbright Committee and demolish the weight of their testimony by innuendo and false charges.

The disruptive role of the HUAC is typified in the case of Mr. Milton Cohen, a Chicago social worker. He is now risking a contempt of

Congress conviction with a potential penalty of one year in federal prison. The events leading up to this possible conviction, have moved a group of eminent Chicago and St. Louis social workers (Russell Hogrefe, Dr. Ner Littner, Elias Picheny, Charlotte Towle, Alan Wade, Donald Feldstein, Wayne Vasey, among others) to collect funds to help Mr. Cohen in his pending legal battles.

In a letter of solicitation, the social workers explain that in May 1965 Mr. Cohen received a subpoena ordering him to appear before HUAC. No legislative purpose for the hearings was indicated, nor was any statement given of the possible relevance of Cohen's testimony.

Within two days, he was to learn — by reading the newspapers — that he was an alleged subversive. HUAC had leaked the names of subpoenaed persons to the press, in violation of its own rule 26.

Through his attorney, Cohen requested that his testimony be given in a closed, executive session — a privilege extended to witnesses under HUAC's rule of procedure. He also requested assurance that he would be given the right to cross-examine any witnesses who might make derogatory statements about him. Both requests were denied.

Cohen then joined in a suit with two other witnesses (Dr. Jeremiah Stamler and Mrs. Yolanda Hall, employees of the Chicago Board of Health) to enjoin the HUAC hearings because of the violations of due process, the infringements of civil liberties, and the potential damage to reputation and professional career. The injunction was sought on the basis of a recent Supreme Court decision which recognized the validity of prior action in cases where the *proceedings themselves, regardless of outcome, would result in irreparable damage* which could not be remedied by subsequent judicial redress.

In taking this course, Cohen is risking a contempt of Congress conviction.

Far more is involved, however, than the injustice to a citizen. The Cohen case (joined with Stamler and Hall) represents a new legal challenge which may result in a definitive Supreme Court decision ending the constitutional violations of HUAC and similar inquisitorial hearings which seek illegally to impose punishment for constitutionally protected opinions and associations under the spurious guise of legislative business.

The court test is supported by 400 law professors, 1400 history and political science professors, and 600 doctors. Persons who want to contribute should make their checks out to "Milton Cohen vs HUAC Fund" and mail them either to Mrs. Morris D. Finkel, Treasurer, 5757 N. Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois 60626; or to: Donald Feldstein, 11001 Schuetz Road, St. Louis, Missouri, 63141.

Simple Simon?

THE Democratic Party dumping of Seymour Simon president of the Cook County, (Ill.) Board, is a simple, political phenomenon. A protege quarreled with his protector, found himself adrift, and went over the waterfall. In the quiet waters, he will receive the consolation of a soothing appointment.

In 1955, Simon won election as a Chicago alderman because he had the massive support of the regular Democratic ward organization, and he picked up the margin of victory from his old liberal associations in AVC, IVI, etc. After election, he turned toward Committeeman (and Alderman) Tom Keane, who is Duke of Burgundy to Daley's Louis XIV. Under Keane's high patronage, Simon was made assistant orator in the City Council and progressively filled vacancies — chairman of the 40th Ward Organization, member of the Board of County Commissioners, chairman of the Finance Committee, and at last president of the County Board, a very important office.

Then, on exactly what issue we do not yet know, he quarreled with his sponsor and, although still in high office, found himself without any major political base outside the 40th Ward. The party chairman would gladly have re-slanted him as a dependent of the party chairman; however, in politics a powerful sponsor cannot afford to ignore a protege who slips away on his own and sets an example of independence for other proteges to emulate. Simon found, and so did Daley, that somehow so many ward committeemen combined to oppose Simon that he had to go. The fact that he had offended other committeemen or been haughty to jobholders just simplified the ouster. The fact that he was bright and competent was immaterial.

Moral for others seeking to rise in Chicago's Democratic Party: above all, be loyal to your sponsor; but if you do decide to shift, be sure of the ground under your feet. It can shift too.

Mikva for Congress

THE 2nd Congressional District in Chicago is in turmoil. Incumbent Democratic Congressman Barratt O'Hara, 83 and the oldest member in the U.S. House, faces in the June primary independent Democrat Abner J. Mikva, 40 and one of the most brilliant members of the Illinois legislature.

O'Hara has a sound voting record in the U.S. House, so does Mikva in the Illinois General Assembly. Both are backed by a prestigious group of academicians, liberals, and civil righters. On the surface, the differences are reduced to the factors of age and allegiance to the Democratic Party of Mayor Richard J. Daley.

The advantage of youth or allegiance to a party organization do not disturb us. Active

and articulate representation of a local district isn't necessarily related to age; and there is nothing wrong with a cohesive, even disciplined party structure. The essence of parties is the reaching of a consensus and the presentation of candidates and platforms to the voter. However, party administrations must permit openings to creative legislators, such as Mikva; if they do not, they fail in their function.

Since the voting records, age, and party endorsement are not decisive, we researched their attitudes on the House Committee on Un-American Activities, public school integration in Chicago, and the Viet Nam debacle, three issues of great concern to the 2nd District which encompasses the University of Chicago. We found our answer.

Both candidates endorse the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

O'Hara was recently asked what he did about the hold-up of federal funds from the Chicago public schools by U.S. Commissioner Keppel. He said, "I went to bat to get them released." He was then asked if he was aware of the circumstances surrounding the allegation of segregation in the Chicago public schools. He retorted that he's in Washington and he just can't know the details of what's going on in Chicago. Mikva knows what is going on and would have demanded some progress in the integration of Chicago schools before intervening and, by implication, endorsing the status quo.

O'Hara's interest in the segregation problems of South Africa is praiseworthy. By his own admission, he has not paid similar attention to similar problems in Chicago.

O'Hara introduced into the "Congressional Record" the statement that he supported the President's decision for the resumption of the bombings of North Viet Nam. On another occasion he declared that the President has made no mistake in Viet Nam. Mikva, however, feels that a cessation of bombing coupled with strong United Nations action might advance the finding of a peace formula. He also believes that a peace settlement cannot be negotiated unless the Viet Cong is at the bargaining table.

In view of these important differences, we favor the nomination of Abner J. Mikva.

Dissent in the Midwest

MISSOURI Governor Warren E. Hearnes' refusal to endorse blindly a government-sponsored resolution in support of the government's Viet Nam policy is a credit to him. He was the only Democratic governor and one of three state chiefs to refuse the endorsement. In his words, "there has never been a clear definition of what the policy is in Viet Nam."

Voters, too, demand answers, if not peace. While Washington has failed to supply either, local, some semi-literate, politicians are fearful that they will be forced into having opinions. They will find little help in explosions such as Senator Paul Douglas permitted himself, when he equated criticism of the war with lack of determination to resist Communist aggression.

Not everyone agrees with the Senator.

A group of American poets gathered on the stage at Mendel Hall at the University of Chicago in mid-April for a "read-in." The poster, tacked on the door to the auditorium was headlined: "Poets against the War in Vietnam."

Continued on Page 27



A New Plan for Metropolitan Survival / Community Planner

Is the American metropolis a dinosaur doomed to a slow decline and possible extinction? Gloomy economic trends in the St. Louis area described by William H. Kester, economist and writer, in the last issue of *FOCUS/Midwest* would so indicate.

Between 1954 and 1963 the number of factories in the United States increased from 287,000 to 304,000 according to the Census of Manufacturers, yet the number of factories in the 14 metropolitan areas with a population of one million persons or more in 1950 decreased from 118,000 to 111,000 during the same period. In a free and competitive society, each community fights for growth if not for survival. Improvements in transportation and particularly the Interstate Highway System have opened a wide range of choice for the location of all types of economic activities.

The large metropolitan area — St. Louis, Chicago, or Kansas City — comes to bat with two strikes on it. One is the relatively high costs, such as for construction, operation, living, and those induced by congestion. A ten-acre industrial site in the St. Louis area may cost \$200,000 while a similar site in Mexico, Missouri or Jacksonville, Illinois may cost only one-tenth as much or may even be given to the industry by promotion-minded local citizenry. The second strike is the concentration of social problems in the large city. Central cities such as Chicago and St. Louis are becoming "welfare ghettos." Conditions are far worse "across the line," say, in Kansas City, Kansas, Gary, or East St. Louis. It is much easier to walk away and leave these problems than to contribute the high degree of sustained citizen effort it takes to solve them. Similar problems in Jefferson City or Bloomington, while they are there, are minuscule in comparison.

The large metropolis — Chicago, St. Louis, or Kansas City — provides relatively poor living and working conditions at a high cost. Its advantages are the large labor market, sophisticated services such as computers, universities, and cultural facilities that will attract the highly-trained person-

nel so essential to modern commercial and industrial processes, hospitals, and social attractions. Yet, many of these may be reached by a drive of an hour or two from a smaller city.

Major Cities Lack Planning

NONE of the major metropolitan areas in Missouri or Illinois are in a position to fight back. None can direct or control its environment in anything approaching a unified manner.

The Chicago area has the "North-eastern Illinois Planning Commission" established by the legislature in 1957. According to the annual report for 1964, "This Commission is solely an advisory agency whose plans are 'recommended to units of government' and considered on their merits as guides to action" — presumably by each of the more than 1200 local governments in the six-county area.

The St. Louis Metropolitan Area is unique. It has an official planning agency — the Bi-State Development District — formed by interstate compact in 1949. Unfortunately, this agency has built-in schizophrenic characteristics, being both an "action" and a "planning" agency. Its "action" activities, particularly its ownership of the transit system, have been controversial enough to nullify its value as a planning agency. As a result, the responsibility for metropolitan planning now has been turned over to a newly created "East-West Gateway Coordinating Committee" which has even less than advisory powers to the 231 units of local government in the six-county bi-state area.

In Kansas City, an informal coordination has been arranged between the two Kansas counties and the four Missouri counties in the metropolitan area. Here again, advice only will be offered to the 92 units of local government.

It would be heartening to be able to say that the current rash of metropolitan planning results from a real "grass roots" understanding of metropolitan problems and a ground swell

of demand that something be done about them. Alas, that is not so at all. These extensive metropolitan planning activities (the St. Louis program will cost more than \$2,000,000) have been stimulated almost entirely by the 1964 Federal Highway Act requiring the preparation of such plans as a prerequisite for receipts of federal highway funds.

The metropolitan area as it now stands can do little to guide or control its own destiny. It should be possible to see to it that land is used, or not used, to the optimum advantage of the entire metropolis.

Land use control is exercised by the local municipality or county and to think that 231 counties and cities will join in carrying out a single land use plan for the St. Louis Metropolitan Area is naive in the extreme; yet this is the fundamental assumption of these far-reaching and expensive metropolitan plans. If an overall land use plan cannot be adhered to, of what use will it be to plan the highways, parks, schools, and utilities predicated upon the land use plan? A single regional shopping center in an unanticipated location can make a multi-million dollar freeway a bottleneck overnight.

Not only are the local governments fragmented and independent, but they compete with one another in an endeavor, usually, to attract business and industry to strengthen their tax base and to keep out the low-income family who will weaken it. Building the city becomes a speculation in real estate under a tax system that encourages withholding of land from productive use (while its price rises) and at the same time penalizes a good building by taxing it sometimes to the point of preventing its construction. In areas of new growth, such as St. Charles or Jefferson County near St. Louis or Platte County near Kansas City, the political units receiving most of the new growth are those least well organized to supervise it. Land ownership patterns preclude satisfactory neighborhood design. Land that should be used is not used and land that should never be used is developed for homes or industries.

Proposes Revolutionary Step / Pinpoints Failings in Kansas City, St. Louis, and Chicago

Unified Development Essential

THE first essential to improvement of the metropolitan environment is the simple ability of the metropolis, unified socially and economically (not necessarily politically), to direct a unified physical development of its site for the benefit of all of its people.

We are a long way from even a start on accomplishing such an objective. Here is the type of action we should be taking:

1. We must establish metropolitan governments to handle metropolitan problems, and particularly the basic control of the land use pattern. Where state lines are in the way, and they almost always are, interstate compacts must be used to erase them. State Planning Programs, such as New York's, promote growth in areas beyond metropolitan limits and Governor Warren E. Hearnes of Missouri has wisely advocated promotion of out-state growth in Missouri. If the metropolitan area does not control its own land use pattern, the state will have to accept this responsibility, distasteful as this may be. The two failures in attempts to establish metropolitan governments in only a portion of the Missouri side of the St. Louis Metropolitan Area, do not bode well for the success of the self-generated efforts at new forms of metropolitan government. A form of government preserving some local autonomy such as that of Toronto is indicated. A metropolitan government could be developed which would keep existing local public agencies and assign merely some of their responsibilities to the over-all government, although reorganization of the local agencies would appear to be more sensible. Unfortunately, however, we are disillusioned about metropolitan governments. We are blinded by our skepticism and prefer it that way. Most likely we will end up putting the problem into the lap of the state government.

2. The tax base must be

equalized throughout the metropolitan area with, say, two-thirds of the taxes from economically productive uses such as commerce or industry going into a metropolitan fund to be redistributed on a per capita basis.

3. Real estate taxes should be placed mostly, if not all, on the land with little or none on the improvements (buildings) in order to bring productive land into use.

4. The Federal Government should give up its capital gains tax on real estate. This levy can then be imposed by the metropolitan government. Increases in real estate value ensue from community growth and improvements, not so much from individual action, and it is only fair to put part of them back where they came from.

5. In parts of the metropolitan area which remain undeveloped (with five million people, three million more than we have now, two-thirds of the St. Louis Metropolitan Area would still be vacant or in agriculture) the metropolitan agency should purchase the development rights to land, possibly using funds from the real estate capital gains tax. Purchase of the development rights has been utilized in England. It involves purchase of the right to change the use of land. The agency may change the current use, it may restrict it to agricultural purposes, or it may reserve it as an open space. In effect, this would produce a privately-owned 'greenbelt.' This would finally stop "urban sprawl" and effectively establish the most important land use control: withholding area from being built upon.

6. We are in an era of large projects. Little building is done on a "house here, house there" basis anymore. Our building industry does a most creditable job when the many obstacles placed in its path are considered. We should untie its hands; establish building corporations as public utilities (with the power

of condemnation) subject to control by the metropolitan government and subject to conformity of the building project to the metropolitan land use plan. By this means we could get real neighborhood design with diversity of residential use and values. Zoning then could be retained as a housekeeping measure to keep order after the neighborhood was built.

The metropolitan problems are enormously complex and difficult. A very small minority makes a goodly amount of money out of the present system and these can be expected to protect vigorously their interests. Yet, in one major metropolitan area, a check of the 1960 Census showed that all of the realtors, home builders, and others associated with the city-building process constituted but 1.5 per cent of the total employment. Are we building the city for them or for the 98.5 per cent?

There is a lot of brush to be cleared out of the local governmental jungle. There are fundamental improvements that must be made in our method of building the metropolis and paying for it. Yet, we will pay a far greater economic and social cost if matters are left to drift along. Metropolitan planning studies will help measure the problems but not solve them. In the final analysis the solution will require action on the state level and substantial leadership by the governor. Fortunately, both governors of Illinois and Missouri now recognize the problem although possibly not the full extent of effort and leadership that will be needed for a real solution. A unified metropolitan government, reorganization of the tax structure, taking the speculative "water" out of the land values, building the metropolis according to a sensible, overall land use pattern, and untying the hands of our building industry are all prerequisites to metropolitan survival.

Eldridge H. Lovelace is senior partner of Harland Bartholomew and Associates, planners, engineers and landscape architects.

The Chicago Daily News headlined its editorial endorsement of the recently proposed Chicago bond issues "Sensible Bond Proposals." On first glance, this accurately reflects popular sentiment. Upon a second glance, one begins to marvel at the all encompassing administration program to sell this bond issue to the voter. The dissenter becomes a freak. When we studied the statement distributed by Chicago's iconoclastic and independent Alderman Leon M. Despres, we found an expression of concern similar to those contained in Eldridge H. Lovelace's article on metropolitan survival in this issue. However, we are publishing the following excerpts not only because the Alderman's views always merit consideration, but more because the mass media provide little opportunity to publicize minority views, except for brief, uninformative news items. Despres' statement is a case in point. Only readers of the Daily News had a chance to read about his doubts.

A critique: The 1966 Chicago Bond Issue

Leon M. Despres

THE basic vice of the 1966 Chicago bond issues is their planlessness. They are a hastily assembled hodge-podge of proposals, thrown together at the last minute after the (Democratic party) machine decided it had suddenly received clearance from public opinion. Bond issues are very important to the welfare of the machine. In fact, the greatest criticism of the present city administration is that it subordinates the welfare of the city to the welfare of the machine, and that is what it is doing on the bond issues.

The city's greatest need is the enunciation and democratic approval of basic goals for city progress, i.e., a *comprehensive plan* for the city to follow in carrying out its social and physical programs. With such a plan, each step we take would carry us toward our goals; while without it, we simply patch, spend, fix, and often damage the city both now and for the future. Each physical improvement ought to count twice — once for itself and once as a step toward our goals.

Under the present bond issue hodge-podge, no physical improvement counts toward any planned goal, and some of them will fix rigid

patterns that may actually prevent future progress. *Chicago needs improvements, many of them, but it needs a plan under which we make them.*

The present city administration is implacably opposed to city planning. The machine finds deadly antagonism between comprehensive city planning and the machine's own interest in making all decisions on the basis of its own undisclosed partisan expediency. Consequently, the city administration gives lip service to city planning, but destroys it.

With each of the three last bond issue proposals (1957, 1959, and 1962) the city administration has issued almost identical statements (this time too), and has said in effect: "We need these improvements now. They are an emergency. Of course we'll plan, but that has to wait. We need the improvements right away." Three times the promise has been broken, and the pattern adopted of spending money, avoiding a plan, and building up to the next "emergency."

Our experience shows that we will never get a plan so long as we vote easy money in bond issues. The only time the city administration even

began planning in earnest was after the 1962 defeat of the bond issues, when it hired Larry Reich, had him do the Basic Policies of 1964, and then withdrew them, got rid of Reich, cut the comprehensive planning staff, and hopefully resumed the old pattern.

UNDER the city administration's decisions, there is surely an unstated de facto plan which is so frightful that no administration would dare express it. It has to be inferred from actions of the past ten years. It is the policy which the bond issues will actually advance. Briefly stated, it is as follows:

1. Above all, run the government so that the party wins the next election.

2. Almost equal in importance, satisfy the pressing desires of the large business and financial interests so as to keep their (normally Republican) support, and the flow of money, public opinion, and general aid. This means: At all costs build up the central business area in every way possible, with every attention, subsidy, assistance, improvement, ordinance, etc. (Incidentally, there is nothing wrong with building a good central business area. The city needs it. But the city around it should be viable and not decadent.)

3. While controlling the votes of Negro Chicagoans through partisan patronage and the national attraction of the Democratic label, make all necessary concessions to white segregationists by maintaining the pattern of racial housing segregation, school segregation, and social segregation. Since a pattern of housing and school segregation guarantees a growing ghetto and a declining city, the segregation policy which wins each election hastens a tragic explosion. The sooner the policy ends, however, the less tragic its consequences.

Now, the result of this de facto policy and its fundamental aim is in fact (regardless of professed aims and regardless of haphazard neighborhood expenditures): *develop the central business area and the suburbs, and let the rest go.*

This shocking enunciation contradicts all the stated generalizations about communities, neighborhoods, low-income and middle-income housing, renewal, keeping people in the city, etc., but it is the actual policy followed.

THE bond issues ignore Chicago's emergency of racial segregation while elevating the "emergency" of public improvements. Before the Finance Committee, the president of the Continental National Bank, who is Chicago's second strongest Willis (superintendent of education) supporter, said only that solving residential segregation and improving schools are "important" too but not paramount. The realtors' representative (Gahagan) said that the bond issue improvements are an emergency and residential segregation should be solved by "education and information eventually." In his April 28 Civil Rights Message, President Johnson said accurately and eloquently:

"As long as the color of a man's skin determines his choice of housing, no investment in the physical rebuilding of our cities will free the men and women living there."

THE "No Increase in Taxes" promise was expressed with each package of bond issues since 1955, and each package that passed brought an increase. This one would too. The promise of "no increase" is based on a rate of sale of the bonds so slow that it would quickly be accelerated by the voracity for public work contracts. Moreover, these bond issue improvements are not the only ones we are likely to have. The same party that controls the city controls the Board of Education which will dutifully present its bond issues after June 14, and the Park District, ditto. Furthermore, the unmentioned alternative city improvements omitted from the present package will be "emergencies" in due course. The only bond issues that ever failed to increase taxes were the 1962 bond issues, which were defeated.

"Satisfy the pressing desires of the large business and financial interests so as to keep their (normally Republican) support."



CERTAINLY it would be much cheaper to pay for improvements as you go. Items which recur annually should be paid for as we go along — street and alley lights, fire-fighting equipment, sewers, and the regular public building replacements which we know we have to make. Bond issues are terribly expensive. To the \$195,000,000 figure (a contrived "bargain price" to start with), you have to add 35 per cent to 50 per cent for interest and charges. Thus we are asked to approve expenditures of well over a quarter of a billion dollars. That would be cheap if we were marching toward a better city, but it is a high price to pay for a patch-work.

The bankers love municipal bonds. In an institutional advertising supplement to the April *New York Times*, the municipal bond houses of America urged Americans to pass municipal bond issues, and explained gracefully: "If you wish to sell your bonds, a dealer will make a firm bid at a figure that will allow him a modest profit when the bonds are resold." The bankers' cut of the \$195,000,000 bond issue is expected to be about \$2,500,000 or more.

TO win support, the Mayor created a committee of businessmen along with labor officials and general civic representatives to appear to originate the bond issues. Under questioning at the Finance Committee, the chiefs of the committee admitted ignorance of all but the general outlines of the improvements thrown at them by the city departments and approved as "emergencies." There is no doubt about their sincerity in wanting to help the party put over the bond issues, but there is no doubt either about the auxiliary nature of their function. A reminder is in order of

the famous statement attributed to Mayor (who was also party leader) Cermak:

"Those (Association of Commerce) guys don't know what it's all about. They want the honor. Let's give it to them. Call a helluva lot of meetings, wear them out, and then we can do what we please with them fronting for us."

IN partisan politics, bond issues mean almost everything. The new "improvements" bring a long show of improvement and accomplishment to people who forget that their sales tax pennies on milk and clothing and their real estate tax dollars on their shelter are paying for the "improvements," and then some. The profits on the bond issues keep the bankers happy. The enormous public works contracts, for which the contractors are thirstily waiting, mean direct and indirect campaign contributions sufficient to finance the expensive mayoralty campaign and a lot more. The projects mean an increase in partisan patronage employees in jobs of all ranges, with a generous frosting of high salaried jobs. The bond issues spread a lot of money which finds its way to many places. Without bond issues, there has to be careful administration, stretching of dollars, searching for values, care in personnel, and above all careful planning. With the bond issues, however, these activities go out the window.

If there were a city plan carefully enunciated and openly and democratically arrived at and adopted, if there were a firm commitment of the city administration toward ending the policy of maintaining racial segregation in housing, schools, and social relationships, if there were a frank commitment to the improvements Chicago desperately and genuinely needs, then ought the bond issues to be supported? Unfortunately, artful promises to perform these "ifs" will be kept only as carefully as similar promises in the past. Until there actually is the plan, the policy, and the commitment, any support of the bond issues will be received for what it is, namely, support of what has been, or at least a willingness to extend support despite what has been, which amounts to the same.

In the City Council the administration demands that the vote be on all or none. In effect that is what the vote will be at the election.



Communications for the Status Quo

HERBERT I. SCHILLER

A powerful electronics technology has been allowed to fall almost uncontested into the hands of generals and businessmen. The overriding needs of international harmony are being overlooked by a military-commercial combination which is emphasizing traditional military security and business-as-usual practices.

The nation's resources are streaming into military applications of electronics. The spectacular instrumentation of contemporary dialogue stands in danger of being thoroughly misdirected to its least fruitful uses.

Nowhere is the American concern with preserving an intercontinental status quo — in the face of a rising global storm of dissatisfaction — more evident than in the country's communications policies. The Secretary of State has declared that the United States is not the "policeman of the universe," but the Pentagon's world-wide communications system looks suspiciously like the whistle of the man-on-the-beat. The militarization of United States communications which has occurred over the last twenty years, whatever its explanation, cannot avoid being interpreted as directed against the poorer nations in the world community. Consequently, the chief victims of the misapplication of electronics systems are those very societies which might benefit most from an enlightened use of modern technology.

In the United States where communications techniques are most sophisticated, their military application has proceeded furthest and overshadows all other uses. Spokesman for the Department of Defense (DOD) view the potential of the radio spectrum strictly as a military asset which will offer the "capability of employing modern weapons system anywhere in the world where the need might arise."

Unreasoning fear of social change has paralysed United States diplomacy for almost twenty years. Excepting the Marshall Plan interval, an unwillingness to use America's magnificent resources imaginatively to soften tensions, has produced an ever-widening reliance on military "solutions." Illustrative of this tendency, electronic communications have come to be regarded as a military weapon rather than as the means of social improvement.

A Weak Department of State

IN the summer of 1962, the State Department, supported by the Department of Defense, came before a senatorial committee to recommend a curious amendment to the Communications Act of 1934. The Under Secretary of State George W. Ball, requested that the Act be changed to grant the President the power "to authorize a foreign government to operate a radio transmitter at or near its mission in Washington when that government has provided reciprocal privileges to the United States to operate a radio station within its territory."

The proposed amendment did not reflect the desire of foreign nations to have additional radio facilities in the capital. The objective was to enable Washington to communicate more rapidly and effectively with its representatives abroad. The Under Secretary informed the Committee: "Our problem is the development of improved communications with many of the newer posts throughout the world, particularly in Africa, Asia and Latin America . . . Time and time again we have found our ability to cope effectively with crises in the less developed areas impeded by lack of modern communications facilities . . . Today in all these areas hourly developments can have an important bearing on our interests." The Department of State's request received the endorsement of the Department of Defense.

Securing information and communicating policy to diplomatic representatives abroad is hardly an illegitimate function of government. In a democratic society, this is the task of the Department of State, while the military complex might be used as one of the tools serving a particular policy. Communications, therefore, must serve primarily the policy

makers and only secondarily a limited aspect of that policy: the military. But the weakness of the Department of State has confused the roles. It is the military which controls the new space satellite technology.

In consequence, unrest in remote areas in the throes of social revolt will be interpreted by the Pentagon and not the Department of State: at least, in the first few hours when often irrevocable decisions are made. The unparalleled, technological opportunities for instantaneous intervention have excited the Pentagon and stimulated federal funds.

The officer in charge of the Pentagon's Defense Communications Agency and also the manager of the National Communications System, testified to the DOD's interest:

"It is most desirable that we have means of establishing, on the shortest time-scale, reliable communications to out-of-the-way areas where tension develops — that is to say flexibility to extend rapidly into new areas . . . Of all the potentially new communications media means, the communications satellite appears to offer the greatest promise of providing the improvements required in the Defense Communications system . . ."

The ability to bounce a signal off a body in space and have it come down to any other point on the globe is a wondrous forward step for all communications purposes. To the military, however, it offers a technique for communicating to a unit deployed anywhere on the earth's surface without having to worry about wires being cut.

Lamentably but predictably, the military feasibility of space communications have been put foremost in the development of communications satellites. They have shaped the international negotiations by which spectrum space has been obtained for space communications. They have influenced and sometimes determined the design of the space satellite system. They have directed the continuing research on space technology.

Counter-Insurgency and Space Communications

THE heavy military interest of the United States Government in international space communications was unveiled at the seventy-nation International Telecommunications Union's meeting in Switzerland in 1963 (The Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference to Allocate Frequency Bands for Space Radio Communications). Governmental planning years

in advance of the event, a rarity in American political behavior, preceded the Geneva Conference. The Conference's task was the allocation of frequencies for space communication, a need recognized by few nations at that time and, in fact, of importance probably to the United States alone.

The American proposals for the conference were formulated originally in the Department of Defense and subsequently moved through interdepartment governmental channels for coordination and redrafting. Industry too had an opportunity to review the suggested policies. But the proposals were born in the Department of Defense where parenthood was acknowledged. "Whenever any scientific endeavors depend in part upon the use of radio frequencies, the Department of Defense has tried to anticipate the frequency needs and make provision for them through the IRAC (Interdepartment Radio Advisory Committee) at the earliest possible date." So testified the Department of Defense's Director of Telecommunications Policy.

The Geneva meeting richly rewarded the diligent American efforts. Amongst the accepted proposals was the approval of the United States request for a narrow band of frequencies for space communications exclusively. The full import of this frequency allocation was described by the president of the Communications Satellite Corporation (Comsat). Dr. Charyk, who was a member of the United States negotiating team, noted that 2,800 megacycles of frequency space had been allocated for communications satellite systems but that their use was not exclusive. They were to be used also for various ground communications networks. Of the total 2,800 megacycles, "only 50 megacycles were reserved exclusively for communications satellites for transmission in the earth-to-satellite mode." The significance of the exclusive frequencies was elaborated by Dr. Charyk:

"Now, the National Communications System requirements have as their key element the fact that the government would like to use mobile stations which could be quickly transported to any part of the world, set up and be in operation with high quality communications in a very short period of time. Since all the frequency bands with exception of the 50 megacycles, are shared with other services, it is necessary that these mobile stations operate in this exclusive band—otherwise, before the station could be turned on, extensive coordination would be required in order to insure that the operation of the transmitter would not have deleterious effects on other communications facilities in the region where the station was located."

According to the testimony of Comsat's president and other experts, the exclusive frequencies agreed to at the international meeting in Geneva, *are of military value only*. The conference's approval of the American proposal for exclusive frequencies in space simply brushed aside the efforts of many years to exclude the arms race from space. The mobile transmitters are, of course, the communications hardware for far-flung military operations.

Requirements for this new electronic alarm system, as Washington and the Pentagon foresee them, are most likely to arise in the underdeveloped areas of the world where conditions of life are most intolerable and popular dissatisfaction vents itself in armed actions. Some of the places mentioned at random, by government officials appearing at recent congressional hearings, where mobile units might prove useful were Lebanon, Laos, Vietnam, Zanzibar, Tanganyika (before the creation of Tanzania), Panama, and Algeria.

The Military Industrial Complex In Space

THE 1963 Geneva Space Communications Conference provided the United States Armed Forces its exclusive 50 megacycles while at the same time it established the frequency allocation for more generalized space communications in non-exclusive bands. The results were most gratifying to two domestic groups. For industry, there was encouragement to develop satellite communications where they would be commercially profitable. For the Armed Forces, no technical obstacle remained to hamper their counter-insurgency technology. This neat division of interest was pointed out by the legal adviser to the State Department, Mr. Abram Chayes: "... the main requirements of the commercial part of the system, at least in the early years ahead, will be in the northern latitudes while the main requirements for the National Communications System are to places where existing telecommunications don't go or there aren't rich markets for telecommunications."

Space communications are considered by the Communications Satellite Corporation as a commercial venture which limits their market for the time being to Western Europe, "the northern latitudes." There is also, the perhaps more interesting proposition, that the southern latitudes, the geo-

graphical arc that includes most of the poor people in the world, are apparently of concern only to the Department of Defense's National Communications System. That the "have not" world has the attention of the American military establishment speaks poorly for both the prospects of the impoverished peoples as well as for the vigor of American democratic institutions. Is profit-taking from the industrially-advanced Northern and Western portions of the world and patrolling of the destitute Southern and Eastern sectors, the scheduled division of labor in the United States communications program?

Initially, a design for a combined military and commercial communications satellite system was pursued by the DOD and Comsat. The mixed venture fell through in mid-1964 when it became apparent that the other nations which would join the United States-managed and controlled international space communications system, objected to cooperating directly with an American military instrument.

The DOD has since proceeded on an imposing scale with its own space communications system. The decision to establish a separate system was hailed by a congressional committee.

"The wisdom of Secretary McNamara's decision — unfortunately long delayed — is evidenced by the need for improved communications to remote areas in a world of recurring crises and constant danger of war. Satellites offer a means to establish these vital communication links."

The resources pouring into the communications effort of the armed forces are impressive. Excluding expenditures of over \$1.5 billion on equipment for tactical purposes (ships, planes, etc.), communications costs of the Department of Defense for the fiscal year 1965 probably exceeded \$1 billion, and the annual costs for military communications have been increasing from 10 to 15 per cent per year.

The greatest part of this enormous effort is aimed at achieving a state of readiness in the United States' military forces enabling them to move precipitously into the so-called "trouble spots," actual and potential, in the disadvantaged regions of the world. The preparations already in place seem to indicate that the "haves" are arranging military solutions for the "have nots" and that communications are being developed as the support-



ing mechanisms for the global enforcement of the status quo.

The Director General of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), put the cost of overcoming two-thirds of the adult illiteracy which plagues many of the organization's one hundred and eighteen member states at \$1.9 billions, over a ten-year period. Though totalling less than \$200 million a year, this is an impossible expense for developing societies.

Twenty years ago, before space communications had become a reality, the Commission on Freedom of the Press declared:

"Recent improvements in the machinery and methods of international communications have made possible, for the first time in history, direct communications across national boundaries to the masses of the people of the world. These mechanical improvements offer at once a new hope and a new danger. The choice is not between the use or the neglect of these new instruments of communication. The instruments exist and will be used in any case. The choice is between their full, purposeful, and responsible use to enlarge the mutual comprehension of peoples, on the one hand, and, on the other, their incomplete, undirected, and irresponsible use, with the risk of an increase in international hatred and suspicion as a consequence."

American space efforts seem to have chosen the second course. Magnificent opportunities for international collaboration that the new medium can provide may be lost to this generation.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Space limitations prohibit us from publishing the author's extensive footnotes substantiating the facts and conclusions of this article.)

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Illinois Education / The System Must Go

ONE year ago, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois set up a 56-member task force to study education in Illinois and to propose policies to upgrade the weaker schools. The chairman of the task force, Professor William P. McLure of the University of Illinois, reported back that two-thirds of the schools are giving "sub-standard education."

"We have some of the best financed and best organized schools in the world," McLure declared, "and some that are below the level of the average in Mississippi."

Since then, no major improvements have been launched — except that the superintendent of public instruction has now emblazoned in red on all his official envelopes: "Quality Education for All Youth Is Our Goal."

Ray Page, the Illinois superintendent, reveals the low standard of public schools in a report for 1962-1963. It shows astounding differences among the districts. The report lists the districts in four groups by type and size. A study of the 70 poorest districts — if we take the lowest five per cent of each group — shows that they are distributed among 36 of the 102 counties. Forty of the 70 are found in "Little Egypt," the poor and underdeveloped area in Southern Illinois.

Startling contrasts of riches and poverty are found side by side. The richest and the poorest are in Massac County. Maple Grove Elementary District had an assessed valuation of \$400,981 per A.D.A. (Average Daily Attendance) pupil in 1962-1963. Nearby is 12-grade Brookport Unit District with a valuation of only \$3,795 per A.D.A. pupil. Maple Grove gets its wealth from the huge electric plant built a few years ago to serve the uranium plant across the Ohio in Kentucky. To nearby Brookport the plant could as well be located in Georgia. Just west of Massac is Pulaski County, with eight of the poorest districts. They, too, can only be envious of the Maple Grove District.

A 1965 study of education denounced the present system for its "shocking inequalities." In 1964-1965 the lowest district spent only \$291 per A.D.A. pupil, while the highest

spent \$1,168. State aid amounted to \$177,200,000, which was only 21.73 per cent of the total cost of education.

Clearly, Illinois state aid to education is a failure if we take Mr. Page's slogan seriously.

Legislators Uphold System

IN 1965 the General Assembly revised the state aid formula but made no change in the system. The formula guarantees each district a foundation level of \$330 per A.D.A. pupil. Each district is allocated a flat grant of \$47 per pupil, plus an equalization grant if the district qualifies. (In order to qualify, each elementary and

each secondary district must levy an educational fund tax of 74 cents per \$100; each unit district (12 grades) must levy a rate of 90 cents. If the amount computed by applying the qualifying rate against the equalized valuation, plus flat grants, does not equal \$330 per A.D.A. pupil, the district receives special funds to guarantee this level.)

This program does not equalize education, because the foundation level is hundreds of dollars below an adequate education. It merely distributes funds to help the poorest districts offer a minimum education.

Illinois can profit from several decades of educational research and experience. Formerly, every school district in the country was entirely on

The Rich and the Poor

For the state of Illinois as a whole there is a great contrast between the wealthiest and poorest districts. In the list of the larger elementary districts (1,000 A.D.A. and above) the seven wealthiest in 1962-63 had valuations per A.D.A. pupil ranging from \$68,090 to \$47,041. Among the seven poorest the valuations ranged from \$10,083 to \$4,933.

CENTRAL AND SOUTH STICKNEY

The second wealthiest district in the state is Central Stickney, located just southwest of Chicago. Stickney Township is split by a panhandle of Chicago. Stickney Central District 110 has the Clearing Industrial District largely within its territory. In 1964-65 it had a tax base of \$99,753,401 but only 411.30 A.D.A. pupils; its valuation was \$240,287 per pupil. Central Stickney spent \$1,253.37 per pupil with an educational fund tax levy of \$.433—the lowest rate in Cook County. South Stickney District 111 is mainly a residential community with many young married families. In 1964-65 it had 4,653.63 A.D.A. pupils and a tax base of \$82,340,422. Its educational fund tax levy was \$1.250 per \$100 assessed valuation. Even with state aid South Stickney had only \$459.66 to spend on each A.D.A. pupil.

THE POOR IN COOK COUNTY

In 1964-65 there were three elementary districts in Cook County with assessed valuation per A.D.A. pupil under \$10,000. These districts were Kirby 140, with assessed valuation per pupil of \$9,725, Sauk Village 168 with \$8,946, and Posen-Robbins 143½ with \$7,601. Kirby spent \$380.09 per A.D.A. pupil with an educational fund tax levy of \$1.400 per \$100 assessed valuation; Sauk Village spent \$313.39 with a levy of \$1.130; and Posen-Robbins spent \$407.39 with a levy of \$1.331.

THE RICH IN COOK COUNTY

In 1964-65 Cook County had four elementary districts (in addition to Central Stickney) with assessed valuation per A.D.A. pupil above \$70,000. These districts were Niles 71 with assessed valuation per A.D.A. pupil of \$74,158; Fairview 72 with \$93,383; Rhodes 84½ with \$80,894; and Lyons 103 with \$72,518. Niles spent \$644.18 per A.D.A. pupil with an educational fund tax levy of only \$.564 per \$100 of assessed valuation; Fairview spent \$874.61 with a levy of

\$.680; Rhodes spent \$654.39 with a levy of \$.526; and Lyons spent \$690.86 with a levy of \$.680. These wealthy districts had educational tax levies less than half that of the levies in the three poorest districts but spent an amount per pupil not far from double.

POOREST BUT TAXED THE MAXIMUM

Four elementary districts in Cook County make the maximum educational tax levy permitted by law — \$1.60 per \$100 of assessed valuation — but still cannot provide quality education. These districts are Wheeling 21, Prospect Heights 23, Matteson 162, and Park Forest 163. In 1964-65 Wheeling spent \$440.29 per A.D.A. pupil; Prospect Heights spent \$568.02; Matteson, \$453.05 and Park Forest, \$506.09.

The poorest districts in Cook County pay the highest school taxes in Illinois. Kirby District 140 stood first in the state in 1965 with a combined school tax levy of \$4.464 per \$100 of assessed valuation. (This rate includes the taxes for the overlying high school district.) Park Forest District 163 stood third; Wheeling District 21 stood fourth; Posen-Robbins 143½, sixth; Matteson District 162, twelfth; and Prospect Heights District 23, twentieth. All of these districts had school tax levies above \$4 per \$100 of assessed valuation.

Most of the poorest districts are in Southern Cook County, where there is relatively little industry. A residential community without some industry usually has an inadequate tax base for quality education. The poorest elementary district in Cook County is Posen-Robbins. Robbins is an all-Negro municipality, and Posen is predominantly Negro.

AMONG THE POOREST

Two other all-Negro districts are among the 70 poorest. They are Brooklyn in St. Clair County and Pembroke in Kankakee County. Brooklyn, a suburb of East St. Louis, is the oldest Negro community in Illinois; it was incorporated in 1874, and was first named Lovejoy in honor of the martyred abolitionist leader, Elijah P. Lovejoy. In 1965 Brooklyn Unit District (12 grades) had a school tax rate of \$4.110 per \$100 of assessed valuation, the tenth highest in Illinois, and the highest outside Cook County.

its own. In recent decades more and more support has come from state taxes. Much of the political drive for state money comes from local taxpayers, who want to shift part of their burden to the state. Politicians exploit this movement to demand a big cut for their constituents.

State aid is sometimes given by flat grants — so much per pupil. This system is not concerned with quality, and it makes only a rough stab at equality. In 1960, 16 states contributed more than 50 per cent of the school income through state aid; 12 of these states were in the south. The school systems that depend most heavily on state support have the lowest expenditure per pupil.

Advocate A New Program

REFORMERS advocate a flexible program designed to attain both quality and equality in education. Such a program would provide education *equal to the best* for every school district. The equalization formula must help the poor districts match the high quality that is set for every district in the state. There must be a sharing of costs. The state must set an incentive to spur local tax effort. The local district must be guaranteed an adequate level of support, but only on condition that it make a tax effort up to a reasonable limit. At present four states — Delaware, Rhode Island, New York, and Wisconsin — have adopted this principle.

Professor William P. McLure estimated in *The Public Schools of Illinois* (1964) that the flexible program in Illinois would require a minimum expenditure of \$13,500 per classroom. It would require \$350,000,000 in state

aid above the current annual expenditure, or a total of \$527 million.

A proposal for equalized education was introduced into the 1965 General Assembly but failed to win strong support. Opponents had a question that the reformers could not answer: "Where is the money coming from?" Obviously, as long as Illinois is hard pressed for revenue it cannot triple its school aid. Illinois must find new sources of revenue before it can reform its educational system.

Floyd Mulkey is an editor and writer of the New Standard Encyclopedia. He received his graduate training at the department of political science, University of Chicago, where he was a fellow for two years.

Chas. K. Berger Lester Seasongood

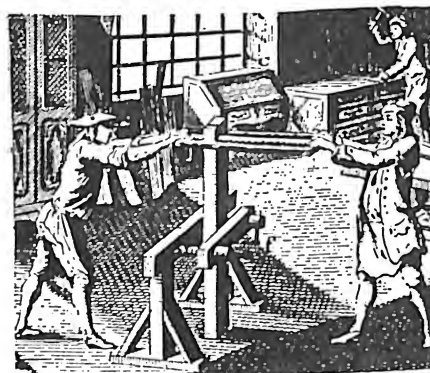
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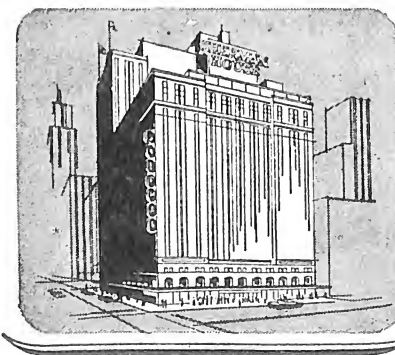
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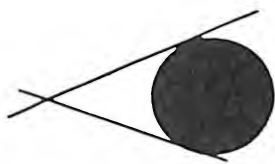
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THE RIGHT WING

An earlier issue of FOCUS/Midwest (Vol. III No. 6/7) carried a "Roster of the Right Wing and the Fanatics" describing 45 organizations located or active in the Illinois-Missouri area. This column, "The Right Wing," will keep our readers abreast of new developments. Together with the "Roster" it offers an up-to-date service. Copies of "The Roster" are available at \$1.00 each.

AMERICA'S FUTURE

In a letter to the editor of the *Chicago Daily News*, R. K. Scott, president of America's Future, Inc., claims that thousands of parents, teachers, and school board members welcome their review of textbooks in the social studies. It should be noted that the group's promotional literature includes the names of Gen. R. E. Wood of Chicago and F. Gano Chance of Centralia, Missouri. Chance is one of the key members of the John Birch Society:

AMERICAN-AFRICAN AFFAIRS ASSOCIATION

Carl T. Rowan reports that the Association, a "reincarnation of the Katanga lobby," are primarily interested in defending South African apartheid and Rhodesian racism. The new group is co-chaired by Max Yergan, a former communist turned superpatriot, and William A. Rusher, publisher of the *National Review*. Another leader is George Schuyler, a writer of the *Pittsburgh Courier*.

AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE PARTY

The ACP of Missouri appointed Floyd G. Kitchen temporary state chairman. He is also active in the National States Rights Party, and he is a member of the national board of advisors of the Conservative Society of America which sponsors the Conservative party movement, according to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Also appointed were Lymon Bergmanis, Kirkwood, vice chairman and Gerald P. McAtee, Webster Groves, treasurer.

ASSOCIATED REPUBLICANS OF MISSOURI

Ethan H. Campbell, Republican state chairman, first charged that right-wing groups were trying to take over the Republican party. He specifically accused Jerry Harkins, Kansas City, and John Powell, Rolla, of form-

ing the ARM as "an undisguised attempt at total conservative takeover in Missouri." Mr. Powell admitted that the Association is conservative "but not part of the John Birch Society." Later Mr. Campbell publicly withdrew his statement.

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

The Anti-Defamation League accused the JBS of contributing to anti-Semitism and waging an all-out war against the civil rights movement. The ADL declared that "Birch Society spokesmen have peddled an incredible propaganda line that President Johnson has betrayed his oath of office and that the U.S. — 'an insane asylum run by some of its worst patients' — is 60 percent to 80 percent under Communist control." The ADL charges that the JBS American Opinion bookstores sell anti-Semitic writings; that the *American Opinion* magazine has a leading anti-Semite. Eric D. Butler, as a correspondent; and that Revilo P. Oliver, associate editor of the magazine, says it is a lie that Hitler killed six million Jews. While as late as 1963 the Society grossed only \$1.6 million, their stated financial goal for 1966 is \$12 million.

CARDINAL MINDSZENTY FOUNDATION

The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* has run true to form when it published on its "society page" a dinner of the extremist Mindszenty Foundation. The group has been denounced by many Catholic institutions. Among the "society" featured were: Mrs. George H. Ahlering, Mrs. Joseph F. Bauer, Mrs. John O. Shields, Mrs. Cornelius M. McDonald Jr., Mrs. Frank L. Key, William J. Bramman, Jr., John McHale Dean Jr., Rev. Daniel Lyons S.J., Rev. Raymond J. De Jaegher, and Miss Eleanor Schlafly, executive secretary.

THE PATRIOTIC PARTY

The *Post-Dispatch* reports that 30 extreme right-wing organizations plan to unify as the Patriotic Party and meet July 4 in Kansas City. Robert B. DePugh of the Minuteman is one of the leaders.

CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION, INC.

Ted Loeffler, secretary-treasurer, announced in a recent letter that every student in twenty-five universities (which were attended by the majority of present senators and congressmen) will receive a copy of one of the following books: "Masters of Deceit" by Hoover, "Up From Liberalism" by Buckley Jr., "You Can Trust The Communists" by Dr. Schwarz,

or "Reminiscences" by Gen MacArthur. Among the 25 universities are the University of Chicago and Loyola University. Constructive Action is a non-profit corporation formed in March 1963. M. W. Brainard, a retired corporation head, is the president. The Board of Trustees include Walter Knott, A. Maxson Smith, and Dr. Frank A. Rogers, all from California.

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.

FEE cloaks its *Freeman* magazine in intellectual pretensions, which usually espouses an anarchistic economic philosophy. Occasionally, the *Freeman* delves into other areas, revealing similarly primitive ideas. Recently, an article "Individualism and Racism" by Anne Wortham included these passages: "... Irresponsible leadership in the name of civil rights is conning a nation out of its incentives to productivity into sanctioning the undeserved, causing the freest people on earth to sacrifice that freedom for the compulsory equality of slaves." And "The overwhelming tendency of the (1964 Civil Rights) Act is to deny the civil rights of producers — property owners — in favor of the wishes of those seeking something for nothing."

INKO

John Noble, author and favorite speaker at Birchite assemblies, addressed INKO, co-chaired by Rev. Bill Beeney, who has been associated with extremist causes, and Kenneth Goff, well-known anti-Semite. INKO stands for "Investigate King and Others," and is seeking one million signatures on a petition to Congress to investigate. Noble, incidentally, stayed in Nazi Germany during the war and served Germany's war effort.

JEWISH SOCIETY OF AMERICANISTS

Jewish members of the John Birch Society have formed a Birch-front (J.S.A.), according to Robert Welch, in order to "convince other American Jews that the principles and purpose of The John Birch Society will make a better America for everybody." Officers of the society are: Chairman, Michael S. Kogan; Vice-Chairman, Samuel L. Blumenfeld; Executive Secretary, W. C. Solomon. They are headquartered in New York.

The first national conference of JSA was held in Chicago in April. Robert Welch addressed the meeting. Typically, preparations and officials of the event were kept secret.

Three Chicago Artists

by

Mark M. Perlberg

BECAUSE of the lack of sufficient viewing space for avant-garde art in Chicago and because the work of the artists on these pages has intrinsic merit, FOCUS/Midwest presents this little exhibition of three Chicago artists. The works were selected from a group chosen by one of the artists represented here. They are accompanied by statements from the artists.

I have been asked to deliver myself of a few opinions about these pictures and about Chicago art in general. I may have accepted the opportunity with more eagerness than good sense, but I hope what follows will be useful in understanding these pictures and the scene from which they emerged in Chicago.

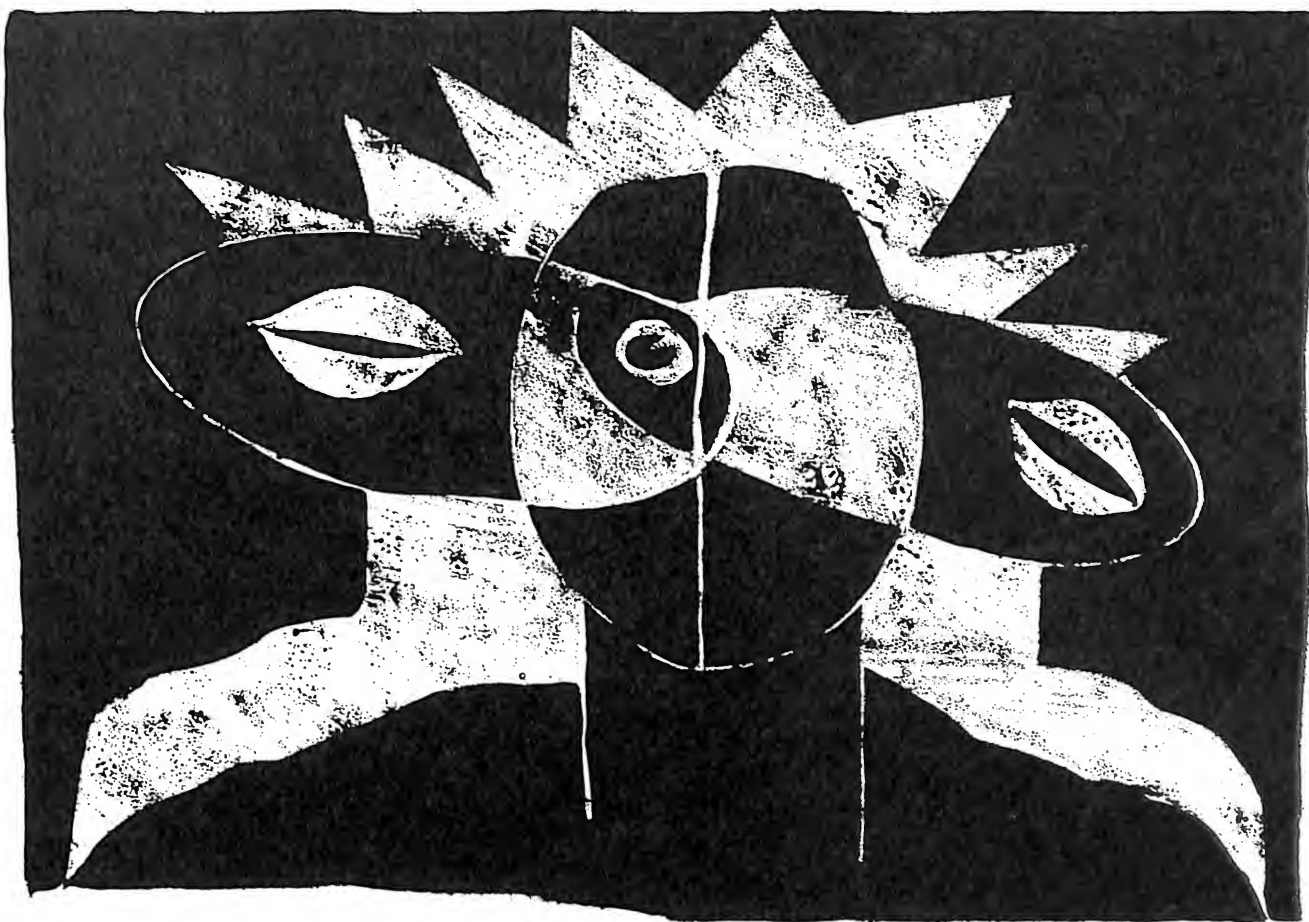
There is no doubt that the Chicago artist has a difficult time making a name for himself outside his city. Doubtless the chief reason for this is that there are more outlets in New York, and perhaps elsewhere, in terms of interested persons, galleries, communication media, and museums. But I think that there may be another reason for the relative obscurity of the Chicago painter on the national scene. It concerns the *kind* of painting that is done here by the avant-garde.

The Chicago artist has traditionally worked with recognizable images. In the 1950's, when Abstract Expressionism was in its heyday in New York, the advanced Chicago artist was working with recognizable, if frequently enigmatic, images of man. George Cohen, Leon Golub and H. C. Westerman were working in the city at that time. Cohen still lives and works in Evanston; he teaches at Northwestern University. But Golub and Westerman have left town, as our best artists usually do.

Cohen painted strange striding, floating or dissolving images of women, and still does. Golub painted large canvasses of scarred male figures that looked something like statuary recovered by an archaeological expedition in Greece or Asia Minor. Westerman built wood and metal structures, which, in their strangeness, force, elegance, and sometimes their impudence, seemed to embody demonic power.

Meanwhile, Pop Art arrived in Gotham City, and as we all know, Pop was followed by Op. Pop is slick and uninvolved. Op is a kind of academic approach to painting that involves technical questions, principally. Throughout these years of Abstract Expressionism, Pop and Op, Cohen, Golub and Westerman went their stubborn separate ways, as did a significant number of other Chicago artists. Typically, the Chicago artists is not interested in painting as a purely technical exercise. Like the realist writers of the 1930's that came out of this city, the Chicago painter has been continuously and directly interested in man.

The work shown here continues this concern, but with a difference. Perhaps under the spell of Cohen, certainly under the star of Miro and perhaps Max Ernst and other surrealists, these Chicago artists seem to want to traffic as directly as possible with the materials of their unconscious. Hence, the image seems to have shifted. It has become more puzzling, more subjective, but it is still an image of man, or a fundamental aspect of man. Unlike Pop and Op, it is *not* cool; unlike Pop-Op, it is involved with mankind.



Vladimir Bubalo

UNTITLED

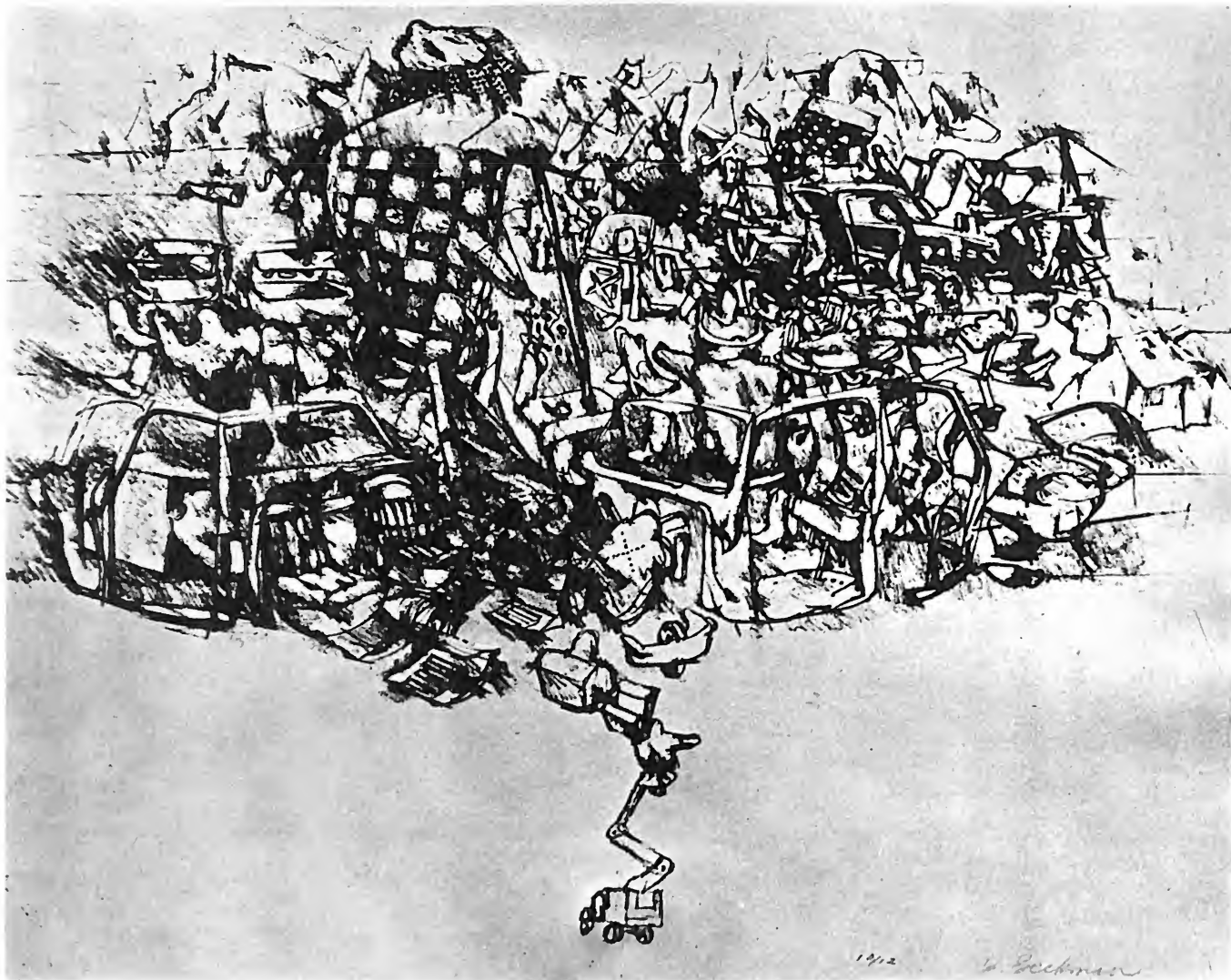
Monoprint

12 x 16 inches

Courtesy of Shlien Gallery, Chicago

The visual communication between viewer and an artist's work does not depend on the look of it, realistic or abstract, but on the extend of the viewer's interest and emotional receptivity to the artist's attempt to be clear about the unclear phenomenon of life.

Painting and drawing are my tools, in order to give visual form to the formless experiences of life, happening in and around me. By expressing these thoughts, impressoins, and feelings through the medium of paintings and drawings I exorcise myself, as well as communicate to an audience or a viewer. In doing this I expose my humanness, and in turn the viewer is reminded of his. This prompting of the viewer's humanity is one of the basic functions of the artist.



Bernard Beckman

UNTITLED

Lithograph

14½ x 11¾ inches

I attempt to see objects and forms out of their usual environment and put them down in an instinctive environment of my own so as to become more dramatically aware of the object's existence.

A Reply

by John W. Studebaker,
Scholastic Magazines,

on

THE DIRTY BUSINESS OF SCHOOL MAGAZINES

I have noticed in *FOCUS/Midwest* that you publish replies to published articles and I wish to avail myself of this fair policy by asking you to publish this comment on Herbert I. Schiller's attack on Scholastic Magazines in his article, "The Dirty Business of School Magazines" in your last issue (Volume IV, Numbers 7 and 8).

The inaccuracies, distortions, and innuendoes in this article leave anyone knowledgeable of Scholastic's contribution to education aghast that such an outburst could come from one identified as "research associate professor in the Bureau of Economic and Business Research at the University of Illinois." Mr. Schiller's research for this article did not even extend to one word of inquiry with an officer of our company, or with any member of our National Advisory Council — educators of recognized standing, some of whom Mr. Schiller names in his article and identifies as "prestigious individuals" and "illustrious educators." That they are. As they are also men of high integrity, one might well ask why Mr. Schiller's research did not extend to them if his interest was in accuracy, scholarship, and fairness.

We are accused by Mr. Schiller of putting "commerce" ahead of service to education. "Education has always been second to commerce in Scholastic's priorities," he writes. This follows the statement, an accurate one, that Scholastic's "first dividend was paid only in 1951." This was 31 years after the founding of the company, a long period during which Scholastic was able to survive through the financial support of men who drew not one cent of profit from the company, and the encouragement of educators who served as advisors without pay, as do those on today's National Advisory Council. Scholastic is now in its 46th year of publication, and has been able to grow during the past 15 years only because it had in 1951 reached a point of financial stability. Even so, the profit each year since has been a modest one and, we are *not* pleased to admit, was far below the published average profit of educational publishers. On its gross magazine business, in the most recent fiscal year the profit was 2.2 per cent before taxes and slightly more than one percent of income

after payment of taxes. One reason for our modest profit showing is the continual experimentation the company has carried on to determine the kinds of new materials the schools will find useful in their revision of curricula and in their attempts to motivate the culturally deprived and aid the deficient reader and the pre-first graders. Mr. Schiller gave no indication that he was even aware of Scholastic's activities and innovations in these areas with the introduction in 1965 of our weekly magazine *SCHOLASTIC SCOPE* for high school students in need of easy-reading, high-interest level material; nor of our "Let's Find Out" program for the kindergarten recently inaugurated.

To support his thesis that "making money has been the first objective of the company" Mr. Schiller employs — not statistics — but innuendo, hardly an acceptable device for a researcher. For example, note his reference to the individuals who financed Scholastic during its first 30 years, as "important directors in some of the nation's biggest businesses;" and his reference to a member of Scholastic's board of directors as vice-president of the Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Company; and to Scholastic's founder and chairman of its Board and Chief Executive Officer as "a full time publicity writer in 1920 for the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce." (Italics ours.) Mr. Schiller's obvious purpose in mentioning the business connections of these two Scholastic board members was to link them in the reader's mind with "making money." Mr. Schiller further reveals an anti-business bias by referring to Scholastic advertisers such as General Electric, General Motors, A.T.&T., Ford, Chrysler, New York Life Insurance Co. and the American Oil Company as "corporations in the billionaire asset club."



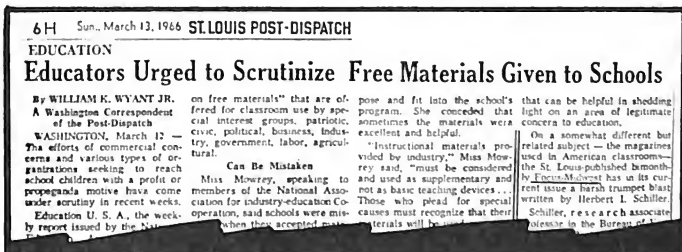
A gross inaccuracy is Mr. Schiller's mention of the Scholastic Awards program as being "inevitably the commercial brain children of national corporations which turn the programs into self-promotional campaigns." The Awards program is completely under the control of Scholastic, and is operated at an annual and a large deficit. Contrary to Mr. Schiller's notion, the Awards are not conducted to attract advertisers. Scholastic would have this program, and has had it for 43 years, regardless of advertising. More than 60 of the leading art schools of the country provide scholarships and rely on our staff and juries to select the winners. Local department stores, in many cities, conduct regional programs and exhibit the work of the students prior to the national showing of the work in New York. Mr. Joseph McCullough, director of the Cleveland Institute of Art, one of the many art educators who have publicly expressed their gratitude for the Scholastic Art Awards said:

"This annual Scholastic Art Awards program under the impetus furnished by Scholastic Magazines, is an extraordinary undertaking on the part of all concerned. Everyone involved is to be congratulated: the magazines, for their confidence in our young people; this community and particularly the local sponsor, Halle's, for their generosity; the art teachers and their students for their efforts; and the jurors — those busy men and women who give of their time, judgment, and experience, so that we may have this exhibit.

"What does Scholastic do? It puts work side by side. It pub-

lishes visual as well as written material. It gives the opportunity for comparison. It offers the different perspective necessary to evaluate one's work. It permits the student the opportunity to exercise a choice of schools in the matter of scholarships. It permits the schools and colleges to participate and encourage by offering scholarships."

This is the program Mr. Schiller ridicules as "the promotion of culture on a percentage basis." His reference to the Maritime poster competition is also an example of careless research, since this contest was not a part of



Scholastic Art Awards but was an independently advertised project.

Another inaccuracy in Mr. Schiller's article is his statement that Scholastic carries the advertising of the U. S. Army, the Navy, and the Air Force "to 11 and 12 year olds." This advertising appears only in Scholastic's senior high school magazines, used in grades 9, 10, 11, and 12, where the students normally are 14 to 18 years old. Mr. Schiller, in making this mis-statement, again adds innuendo to accuse Scholastic of the promotion of "militarism" by carrying the advertising of the U. S. Armed Forces.

"Public education, the orphan in the affluent society," writes Mr. Schiller, "is being adopted by commerce." This is a major point in Mr. Schiller's introductory paragraphs. Note the tense he uses, as though "commerce" and education heretofore have had no sharing of interests, no working relationships, no inter-change of ideas and services for the well-being of both. From the very beginnings of public education — at least for more than 100 years in the U.S. — "commerce" has supplied the schools with the materials of construction and instruction. At what point, if at all, would Mr. Schiller allow private enterprise to act in partnership with the schools? Do we rule out the people who make money putting up school buildings, however sound, imaginatively planned, and well constructed they may be? The manufacturers of school furniture and fixtures and science laboratories? Those of us who provide printed materials, films, recordings, etc.? These materials are produced by "commerce" not by government bureaus, or other eleemosynary institutions, and must make a profit to survive.

In my long experience as teacher, school administrator, and for 14 years as U. S. Commissioner of Education (I have been with Scholastic since leaving that post in 1948), I have not changed my belief in the advantage to all of the American people in our private enterprise system. I believe that private enterprise has accounted for far better textbooks and supplementary materials than could possibly have been made available under a state monopoly. The same can be said about the desks and chairs the students use, the gym shoes they wear, and their laboratory equipment.

As to the use of advertising-carrying periodicals in the classroom, to which Mr. Schiller is patently opposed, it can only be assumed from his statements that scores of local newspapers such as *The New York Times*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, and ad-carrying magazines other than Scholastic's — such as the *Reader's Digest* (500,000 subscriptions in the schools), *Newsweek*, *Time*, *The National Geographic* — all used in thousands

of classrooms — that he believes these, too, are conspiring to "transform the American classroom into a suburban shopping center" with "materials interlaced with spurious and soul-destroying values."

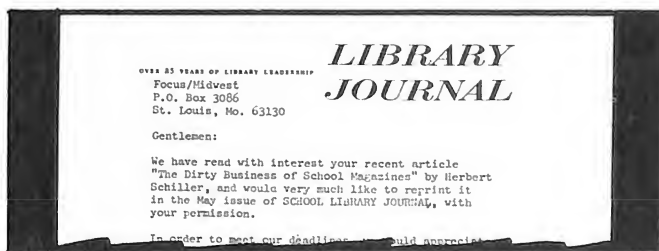
Mr. Schiller's deviousness (or careless research) comes through again in his bowdlerization of a statement by the Magazine Evaluation Committee of the American Library Association. This is the part Mr. Schiller and the editor quoted:

"The first and most emphatic finding is that no magazine for children is absolutely vital or is highly recommended."

Mr. Schiller does not explain that the committee's statement refers to *LIBRARY* subscriptions. The Committee is reporting to librarians on library purchase of periodicals, not on classroom use of periodicals for instructional purposes. Mr. Schiller did not quote that portion of the Committee's statement which listed a number of magazines, including four Scholastic Magazines, which the Committee lists as being "not recommended but often useful for children's rooms in school and public libraries . . ." (The italics is mine.) Among the magazines so listed, in alphabetical order are: *American Girl*, *American Junior Red Cross Journal*, *American Junior Red Cross News*, *Boy's Life*, *Co-ed*, *Junior Review*, *Junior Scholastic*, *Plays*, *Science News Letter*, *Senior Scholastic*, *Seventeen*, *Today's Health*, *World Week*.

Of those listed, *Co-ed*, *Junior Scholastic*, *Senior Scholastic* and *World Week* are Scholastic Magazines.

In closing I should like to correct several more inaccuracies and a very misleading statement by Mr. Schiller in connection with his reference to advertising in our magazines. By implication he leads the reader to believe that all of the Scholastic Magazines, from our kindergarten service up through the elementary grades and senior high school, carry advertising. Our magazines for the lower and middle elementary grades carry no advertising other than announcement of our own paperback book clubs. Of our 24 magazines for students (not 13 as Mr. Schiller stated) they are eight that carry advertising. In those that do carry advertising, the editorial content is expanded as advertising is added. It is advertising that permits us to present more and a greater variety of editorial content — including illustrations — than we could present without



advertising. Yet, only 15.5 per cent of the company's income is derived from advertising. It is selected advertising and is included in an issue only after passing the scrutiny of Scholastic's Advertising Acceptability Committee. Mr. Schiller calls it "advertising goulash" dished up by "major corporations to promote eating, drinking, and car-riding." Innuendo again, in the use of "drinking," with the implication to many of his readers that Scholastic carries liquor advertising.

Your publication of this letter in full will be greatly appreciated.

John W. Studebaker
Vice President
Professional Relations and
Curriculum Division

Rebuttal

by Herbert I. Schiller
to

THE DIRTY BUSINESS OF SCHOOL MAGAZINES

MR. Studebaker's letter more than anything I could possibly write, indicates the sad state of confusion of his (and presumably *Scholastic's*) educational outlook. Perhaps his long association with *Scholastic* (he notes he has been with the company for a longer period than his service as United States Commissioner of Education) has dimmed the educational sensitivities which one would hope he once possessed. How otherwise are we to understand Mr. Studebaker's complete inability to distinguish between private enterprise activities which supply the educational system with its necessary materials and equipment and those private efforts which are directed toward the sale, through the schools, of entirely non-educational products? The former are supposed to serve the goals of education. The latter use education for what they can get out of it.

The point that seems to elude the Vice President of *Scholastic Magazines* is precisely what the educational process is all about. To him, apparently, one commodity is like any other: audio-visual aids and cosmetics, school buildings and automobiles

for teenagers, school periodicals and Coca-Cola are equally interchangeable and educationally indistinguishable.

One wonders if the thought has occurred to Mr. Studebaker that the absolute independence of the learning process, kept apart from every partisan element in the society, is just as essential to the nation's democratic well-being as the preservation of the Bill of Rights? Has he once considered that efforts at sales indoctrination of the young are experiments in thought control over the adults of the future?

The issues on which Mr. Studebaker studiously avoids commenting are these:

Can the classroom be turned into a salesroom without irreparably damaging the entire educational process and violating the spirit of learning?

What place, if any, is there in the public schools for business promotional programs, which by their very nature have goals altogether at variance with education?

Should the public educational system, even if only by implication, endorse and assist private money-making ventures?

Mr. Studebaker is "aghast" at my "outburst" (a commonplace reaction frequently exhibited by jostled sacred cows), but he is entirely unmoved by his enterprise's weekly routine of using the country's classrooms to reach young and unsuspecting "supple" minds with its panderings. No inquiries to the company's officers or to its admittedly prestigious but also, and regrettably, unconcerned educational advisory board, are necessary to confirm what has been publicized widely in national news sources and can be ascertained in any number of the company's weekly periodicals.

The "corrections" of my "inaccuracies" disprove none of them, but they do reveal the attitudes of *Scholastic's* leadership. Mr. Studebaker is unhappy with my reference to the ALA's finding that "no magazine for children is absolutely vital or is highly recommended," claiming that this statement referred *only* to library subscriptions. In what twisted perspective is this a defense of *Scholastic's* materials? If the periodicals are only marginally useful to libraries where they may be disregarded at the reader's option, are they not absolute liabilities when they are brought into the classroom with a semi-formal curriculum status?

Neither his own protestations nor the endorsement of *Scholastic's* award program, quoted by Mr. Studebaker change in the slightest the fact that talented young people are being used by business for business' own ends. That some of the young people may derive some personal benefits is incidental to the primary purpose of the award-granting activity which serves as an inexpensive company promotion. Self-congratulations for such arrangements, which assume that the creative abilities of our youth must rely on such forms of assistance for their discovery and encouragement, are not merely immodest. They are evidence of an antediluvianism that is shocking in an organization with alleged educational objectives.

Contrary to what Mr. Studebaker asserts, 11 and 12-year-olds do receive *Scholastic's World Week*, which carries the advertising of the United States Armed Forces regularly and voluminously and sometimes with comic-book supplements. A simple and direct charge, not an "innuendo," as Mr. Studebaker puts it, was made that the magazines are encouraging militarism. Do pacifists celebrate the nation's military establishment?

But Mr. Studebaker finds innuendo everywhere. In the ordinary statement that *Scholastic's* advertisers promote "eating, drinking and car-riding" as way of life, he detects an implication that the magazines carry liquor advertising. Is this the only beverage that comes to the former commissioner's mind when he is thirsty?

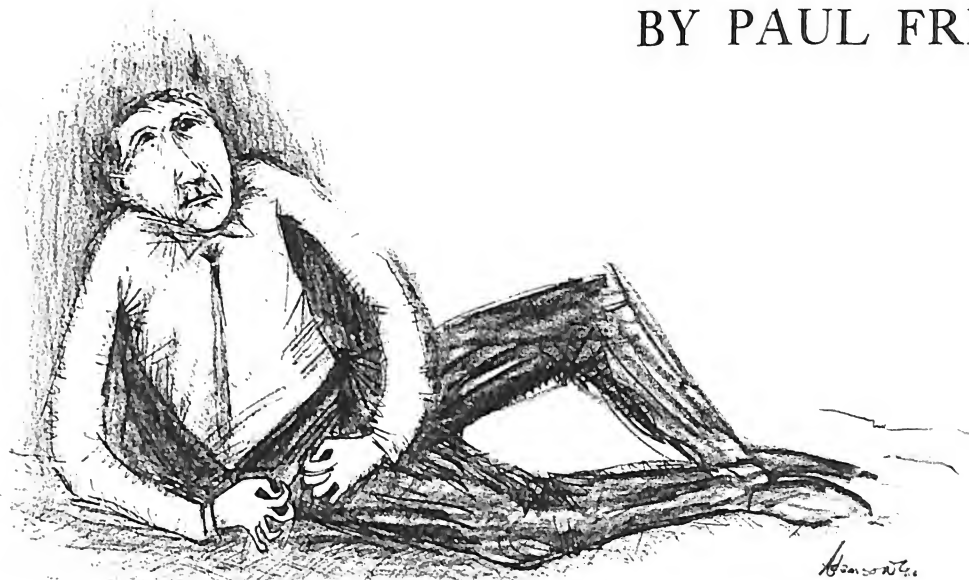
Finally, there is served up that worn chestnut about advertising revenues which permit "more and a greater variety of editorial content." Advertising's exactions for its financial contributions are charitably unacknowledged. Yet can any educational group afford to forget for one moment what it must give up to its commercial sponsors? Can it be indifferent to the narrowed spectrum of discussable subject-matter which is inevitably imposed? Can it ignore the invasion and disruption of the learning process by commercialism?

The lines separating education and money-making have become hopelessly blurred in the whole *Scholastic* operation. Those who still know that there is a difference between a teaching aid and a vending machine will not want the nation's educational system to wander any further down the *Scholastic* road.

Why Is Frank Smith Lost And Who Is Frank Smith

SHORT STORY

BY PAUL FRIEDMAN



Applause.

"Ladies and gentlemen."

More applause.

"Thank you. Thank you. It's a pleasure for me to appear before you tonight. You're most gracious. Few groups, these days, are willing to hear me."

Proud of themselves.

"But now, to get on with it."

Stopping, sipping. Replacing the glass, talking:

"Accidents happen."

Pause.

"Yes, accidents happen. Where danger lies, disaster lurks."

Agreeing.

"One day we will ask, Who is he, the first man caught by outer space, the first man doomed to orbit the earth for the rest of his life, the first man destined to spend eternity in the heavens. Who is he?"

Wondering.

"They'll say, He's Frank Smith, but that won't be enough."

Agreeing.

"They'll say, He's Captain Frank Smith, U.S.N., service number 548 35 90, but that won't be enough. And it won't be enough to know that he's thirty-nine and married and the father of three with a mole on his back. That's all Control Central at Cape Kennedy will say, they'll stand on that, they'll add only that he's stranded in space because of mechanical difficulties, mechanical com-

plications, mechanical failures . . ."

Pausing, blurting:

"Mechanical difficulties! Like a god, man rides through the heavens forever; better than a god, he does it in full view of those down below, and they dare say that it's due to mechanical difficulties?"

Glaring. Staring.

"Why is Frank Smith lost and who is Frank Smith? My friends, many stories are inspirational in nature; mine, tonight, is explanatory. I am explaining something that has not as yet happened, but it will, it must, it's the natural culmination, like Horatio Alger succeeding, Frank Merriwell scoring. Jack Armstrong winning: an astronaut will be lost in space. Not lost in the military sense: killed — he'll live for a time; nor lost geographically: he'll know where he is. Lost differently. We'll see him and he'll see us but he won't be able to reach us, he'll be denied reentry, he won't be able to come home again.

"The government realizes this is inevitable. To the government this question of space is a matter of time. The government deals with inescapable probability, we deal with inescapable symbolism.

"For years the Astronaut has been the hero of the world of action, and the hero of the world of technology. But there are other worlds, other worlds to conquer. So the Astronaut must expand and add dimension to

himself. In the world of philosophy the alienated man is hero: and who is more alienated than Frank Smith, Lost Astronaut? And in the world of literature the hero is the non-hero, the hero is the anti-hero, the Schlemiel, the Bungler—the Lost Astronaut. The dimension the Astronaut must add is Lostness.

"Frank Smith, Lost Astronaut, is Everyman's dream and Everyman's reality. The man who not only speaks calmly to a joint session of congress but also slips on a banana peel; the man who circles the world entombed and enshrined, a god you pray to, a god you pray for. Bigger than life, Frank Smith, Lost Astronaut, is Twentieth Century Man. In Frank Smith, Lost Astronaut, we see the Winner as Loser."

Finishing.

"Thank you."

Polite applause.

"Thank you very much."

Chit chat.

Paul Friedman is on the faculty of the English department at Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point. He earned a graduate degree at the Writers Workshop at the University of Iowa. Stories of his have appeared in New World Writing and Wisconsin Review.

Marvin Bell

Living In

A place whose person
asserts itself, asserts
itself if you think it.

Be mine, he says, in the middle
of things. I understand
you've been looking around.

What was it she was looking
for, what in the name of
love?

She took me home
and married me. In the middle
of things, love, in the middle of
things.

Marvin Bell has published poems in Poetry, The New Yorker, The Nation, and other magazines. Presently he is at the U.S. Army Adjutant School in Indianapolis.

Dave Etter is assistant editor of Encyclopedia Britannica. The University of Nebraska Press has recently published the first collection of his poems, "Go Read The River." The book includes seven poems which were first published in FOCUS/Midwest.

David Etter

On Growing Old in a Quiet Town

The old codgers across the street
at the Presbyterian rest home
are sticking seeds on clammy cardboard.

I want to run away to cornfields.

Summer bathrobes are worn loosely,
exposing the worn inner thighs
of men gone fallow behind bricks.

Night knocks in my head of harvests.

Crows fly among the shrunken pine cones.

Notes for Marc Chagall

Under the kissing trees
boys and purple chickens
run through old dandelions
(a world of grandmothers).

The town clock sports a red face
and a mouthful of grapes.

Midnight: tents are being pitched
beyond cornfields and castles.

Restless in farm vineyards,
between black bread houses,
peasant girls with circus thighs
cry in the wings of lilies.

The Red Nude

When I haven't any blue, I use red.
— PABLO PICASSO

Red candles. Smoky red lights.

Sipping a glass of claret,
the nude girl moves to the window.

The sun sets. Scarlet poppies. Bloodroot.

Pomegranates along a brick wall:
the flushed faces of old gardeners.

Under the cold strawberry stars,
crimson eyes of dying animals.

A dream of cherries and cardinals.

The ruby moon slips between
bare thighs of garnet and rosewood.

Red candles. Smoky red lights.

The read-in was organized by Robert Bly, editor of the feisty little magazine, *The Sixties*, and it included a dozen or more distinguished talents. James Wright, author of three volumes of poetry, flew in from New York City to attend, as did Galway Kinnell. Donald Hall came down from the University of Michigan; Robert Creely arrived from Kansas. George Starbuck and Marvin Bell represented the University of Iowa. John Logan, editor of *Choice* was on the stage. Chicago was represented by Mark Perlberg, who was a columnist for *FOCUS/Midwest*, and by Paul Carroll, Lucien Stryk, Roger Aplon, and by a lone prose writer, John Schulz.

The read-in lasted four hours — which is a long time for an audience to remain in its seat and listen to anything. Some bitter remarks were made about LBJ by one or two of the poets. Some read selections from the work of poets who have become classics: Whitman, Cummings. Most read from their own work.

The evening could have been better organized and better publicized, for it was an impressive gathering of poets of the generation after Robert Lowell's. Nevertheless, the point of the evening was well made. The men on the stage wished to signify by their presence that they were against the war in Vietnam. America's Algeria, one of them called it.

Where Others Fail

THE Triple Revolution Report — an appraisal of major U.S. crises and proposals for action — was originally presented to President Johnson by an Ad Hoc Committee with the statement: "These changes, economic, military, and social, comprise the Triple Revolution. We believe that these changes will compel, in the very near future and whether we like it or not, public measures that move radically beyond any steps now proposed or contemplated. If policies such as these suggested (in the memorandum) are not adopted, we believe that the nation will be thrown into unprecedented economic and social disorder."

The controversial Report questions not only current economic ethics, but many other calmly accepted values. New concepts are demanded.

Neither business nor government, and only a few among the labor groups, have shown that they plan to seek answers to the uncertainties ahead. One of these groups is Teamster Local 688 (St. Louis). Their sponsorship of the "National Essay Invitation" — through a grant from its Labor-Management Charitable Foundation — has already brought dramatic returns. We have received hundreds of requests for the Triple Revolution Report from nearly every state. The process of involving ultimately, no doubt, thousands of creative individuals in the future of this nation deserves commendation for the Local and its secretary-treasurer, Harold J. Gibbons.

We invite universities, colleges, and other institutions to request posters announcing the "National Essay Invitation on the Triple Revolution" for display in the departments of social science and related fields, such as sociology, political science, economics, social work, business, English, etc. The posters offer free copies of the Triple Revolution Report. (All correspondence and requests for copies should be mailed to: National Essay Invitation on the Triple Revolution Report, c/o *FOCUS/Midwest*, P.O. Box 3086, St. Louis, Mo. 63130.)

Edwin Honig

Waiting for a Child (for Daniel)

1.

Who are you, son or daughter,
still unborn?
What shall I call you,
naked jelly,
conforming my brain to yours,
attuning my ear
to the pitch of your shriek
to come
on rising to cross
the edge of the air
of your first dawn?

2.

Up all night with a book
reading me through and through,
my eyes roll up to a light
slowly smudging
the night-lacquered pane
weeping *It's me,*
I'm as old as time!
to me on my sixteen thousand
eight hundredth dawn,
as a floorboard creaks
Hear me, your house
settling down
to its two hundredth year!
and a neighbor's new Chrysler
cuts slimily out
of its heated garage
raising a suicide gas,
I'm alive as anyone
here and now!
turning tail
in a cloud of fur of its own,
roaring off
to swallow the day.

3.

I sneeze,
feeling my brains
tighten and crumple.
The book, digesting me,
thuds to the floor.
But the window's clearer,
so let me ask this:
if I breath on it now,
then clean it at once
with the back of my sleeve.
will the sun shine through it
all day long—
as long as I'm here,
as long as I wait
in the light, in the air.
for my child
to be born?

Edwin Honig teaches at Brown University. He is the author of two books of poems, "Gazabos" and "Survivals."

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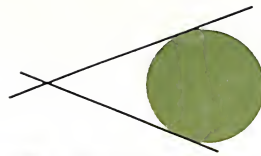
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Political Intelligence

THE Chicago city administration is receiving a clean bill of health in a forthcoming publication on a study of the Chicago war on poverty. Following are some key excerpts from "Chicago War on Poverty" by Seymour Z. Mann, director of public administration and metropolitan affairs program, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville. (A monograph of the Chicago CAP will soon appear as a publication of the Loyola University Center for Research in Urban government.)

"This study has frankly recognized the fact that there probably has not been gained for the CCUO (Chicago Committee for Urban Opportunities) the full confidence it needs and perhaps deserves. It has already been strongly stated that there is no reason to suspect the sincerity and capacity of the principal elected and appointed officials in the city to conduct the local campaign in the national poverty war. But they have been suspect, and while the concept of image has been much overworked in recent times, it nevertheless remains an important element judging performance and gaining followership.

"In political life we live by myth — what men believe to be the situation and by what men believe, at least by what they believe they believe. Past political tradition in regard to processes are breaking down and for a variety of reasons are circumspect. What was a framework of practices that standing traditions might have upheld, may no longer work or be accepted when the majority may not believe in the tradition itself. Under such circumstances the problem is to gain confidence. This is especially important in the peculiar condition of urban life in our big cities today. Those we put in power and make responsible for the day-to-day operation of the political system must be in a posture of being willing to react to and accommodate to the changes that are now rapidly taking place.

"It is presumed that the kind of recommendation herein made will

further exhibit such a posture. In the light of recent adjustments in the CCUO that have been made, they will contribute to the improvement of its image and will further develop confidence in its methods and missions among the various individuals and groups whose confidence is most needed at this time. There have been little to suggest political domination of the Chicago poverty program in the sense of using it as a vehicle for satisfying the wants and providing the rewards to a particular small group of people chosen to receive such largesse by those in political positions of power. That it is a political activity has been fully described and explained throughout this essay. The chief charges regarding political domination has really had to do with the notion that has been widely accepted by many, including some of the more respected members of the CCUO, that its operational checks, that its system of representation, that its openness to suggestions are not genuine and are only subterfuge. Their belief is that decisions are really made at the top and that subsequent to their making the organizational and administrative apparatus is used merely to put these into effect or to legitimize decisions that would otherwise not be considered as such. It is this major kind of problem with which the CCUO and the elected city officials must contend. . . ."

House members from Illinois and Missouri partook of the \$472,800 spent last year on trips to foreign countries. By committees, their expenses are listed except where they are not available for the individual trip.

AGRICULTURE: George E. Shipley, D. III., \$949 (France); Sidney R. Yates, D., III., \$1,270 (France, Belgium, Netherlands, England). ARMED SERVICES: Richard H. Ichord, D., Mo., \$2,637 (Vietnam, Thailand, Hong Kong, Japan); William J. Randall, D. Mo., \$325 (France, Germany); Richard H. Ichord, D. Mo., second trip, \$1,528 (Spain, Italy, Greece); William J. Randall, D. Mo., second trip, \$892 (Spain, Italy, Greece). BANKING AND CURRENCY: Frank Annuncio, D. III. was one of five who spent together \$12,433 on a trip to Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, Netherlands, United Kingdom; Leonor K. Sullivan, D. Mo. (Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Philippines, Thailand, Netherlands). No cost available. FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Edward J. Derwinsky, R. III. \$889 (Italy, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Congo, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Spain); William T. Murphy, D. III., \$1,999 (Japan, Korea, Okinawa, Philippines, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand, India, Pakistan, Turkey, France). GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS: John N. Erlenborn, R. III. \$1,982 (Colombia, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Trinidad). PUBLIC WORKS: John C. Kluczynski, D. III., (Peru, Germany, France, Poland, Austria, Italy, Spain.) Kenneth D. Gray, D. III., (Peru, Germany). SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS: Gale Schisler, D. III., \$200, (France).